

Political Pamphlet. A vol 73.

VINDICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE English Monarchy, AND THE Just RIGHTS of the PEOPLE.

O R,

Faction, and Corruption, Enemies to Religion,
Liberty, and Property.

Being a Brief and Impartial Account of the Times; Shewing the Origine of Faction; the Corrupt and Male-Administration in the Government; and the present ill Circumstance of Affairs in Germany and Italy: And also, the only Means by which these Evils may or can be Removed; the Exorbitant Power of the French King Reduced; and the Peace of the Kingdom Preserved and Stablished.

Humbly offered to the Consideration of the Honourable
HOUSE of COMMONS.

*No Man can say certainly, he's Mean or Great, by reason of
the uncertainty of things to come. Plut.*

B Y

A Lover of his Country; and Her Majesty's Faithful Subject.

L O N D O N, Printed in the Year, 1703.

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11. *Leucosia* (Leucosia) *leucostoma* (Fabricius) (Fig. 11)

...and so the 70'ers, as the generation, are still young; baseball will always be a part of the American landscape, and the Redbirds have provided a major part to our history.

all about on the subject of London (and
elsewhere) in 1890.

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VINDICATION
OF THE
CONSTITUTION
OF THE
English Monarchy,
AND THE
Just Rights of the People, &c.

THE Noble Structure of the *English* Monarchy has been of long duration, being grounded upon the Highest and most Sublime Acts, and points of Justice, and under which our Fathers for many Ages lived happily, and enjoyed the fruits thereof, and as it appears by their Actions, had a thorough sence of the excellency of its Constitution: For notwithstanding the many Intestine Broils and Disputes that hapned in the Nation between the House of *Lancaster* and *York*, &c. yet the prevailing Party or Faction did not invade the Rights and Liberties of the People after those in-

testine Broils were over, but alway kept the Government upon its ancient Foundation; and the Rights and Liberties of the People were stify maintained by their Representatives in Parliament, (in which the Peers were not wanting, their interest being interwoven with that of the People) who never suffered any of their Members to be in Publick Employments, but only those that were Privy-Councillers, (a thing always practiced and allowed, as being found convenient both to Prince and People) until the Reign of King Charles the 2d. And upon the late Revolution, this Illegal Practice became an Epidemical Disease; for then the majority of the House of Commons took Publick Employments upon them, or received Pensions from the Crown, by means whereof the Government was well near being overthrown in the late Reign, and the Nation kept in a continual Ferment, while they, in the mean time, divided the Publick Spoils among them, and unanimously agreed as one Man, (notwithstanding the great enmity that seemed to be between them, and the frequent shifting and changing of Hands) to ruin all those who endeavoured a *Publick and National Good*, which for the most part they effectually did; and then by their Emissaries made them as Contemptable and Odious to the People, as the Heathens of old did the Primitive Christians.

Our forefathers look'd upon all *Publick Complaints*, a *National Concern*; for the first thing they did at the opening of a Session of Parliament, was, to appoint a *Committee of Grievances*, to Hear and Receive the Complaints of the People, which was always punctually observed even in times of Peace; by means whereof, they prevented Publick Frauds, preserved their own Liberties, and the Honour and Dignity of the Crown. Yet we have had no *Committee of Grievances*, or *Trade* (which is dreadful to consider) more

more than in Name, since the late Revolution. So that this Corrupting the Constitution of the Government, and leaving all things to the Will and Pleasure of Publick Ministers, has been of fatal Consequence to this Nation: For since this vile practice began, we see all the Crown Lands in a manner have been Alienated from the Crown; And in the late Reign the Charge of the Civil List became a Burden upon the Peoples Shoulders, and the Nation was miserably plunged in Debt, and divided into Parties and Factions; besides all which, there was more Money raised in the late Reign, than in very many Ages before, and no Course of Justice at all observed; and Which will be found to be very little amended, if not worse, since Her Majesty's happy accession to the Throne.

The Law has taken all the Care and Precaution Imaginable to preserve *the Subjects Property*. Every Creditor we see has power to detain his Debtor in Prison, all the days of his Life, whether he be in a Capacity to pay him or no; and no Man can serve upon a Jury, before he's sworn to do Justice between Man and Man, let him be of what Quallity he will: Therefore how much more Reasonable and Just is it, every Person who shall be Chosen, or Elected a Member of Parliament, should be obliged to make Oath before he be Returned, *He's in no Publick Employment, and will take no Publick Employment upon him, or receive any Pention from the Crown, during his being a Member of Parliament.* They being entrusted with the Rights, Liberties, and Property of the whole Body of the People of *England*, whom they Represent, and thereby become Legislators; and so have no Natural or Legal Right to take any Publick Employment, the Law having otherwise provided for them; the Nation being obliged to bare their Expence, that they should not spend, or waste their Substance in the Service.

Service of their Country, 23 *Henry 6. Chap. 11. 35 Hen. 8.*
Chap. 12. the Renuing or Reviving of which Acts, would
 stop that Issue of Blood which *England* has been troubled
 withal this Fourty Years, and lay a sure foundation of Frugality ; for then Men in Publick Employments won't have
 the Liberty as they have had hitherto, to Consume, Waste,
 and Squander away the Nations Money.

In the late Reign there was a Vacancy in the Excise (as
 there is now in the Navy) a considerable time, during
 which, it's said, no less then Twenty Eight several Members
 of the House of Commons was promised the said
 Commission, and most of the greatest Employments in the
 Government, being now in the Hands of such who are
 Members of the House of Commons, 'tis reasonable to be-
 lieve there's few or no Members, generally speaking, but
 what would willingly be in some Publick Employment,
 and think it no Crime, seeing the most Popular and Great-
 est Men in the House are in Publick Employments ; some
 of which enjoy Two, Three, and Four several profitable
 Offices, Places, or Employments ; and several Members
 have been preferred to Considerable Employments since the
 last Session of Parliament : All which Gentlemen act in
 their several Publick Employments, and Stations, as they
 are Legislators (such they were Made, Chosen, or Elected
 by the People, and are Properly and Legally no other) just
 with as much Honour and Justice to the Nation, as
 the Woman does by her Husband, who defiles his Bed, and
 lives in open Adultery : For nothing in Nature can be so
 Scandalous, and Fatal to this Nation, as Members of Parlia-
 ment taking Publick Employments upon them, which in-
 deed is an Evil many (otherwise most worthy Gentlemen)
 have been led, or fallen into by following the Footsteps of
 others, and making too eager pursuit after the World,
 and

and not done it intentionally with design to enthrall their Country. However that ought to be no Bar or Hindrance to the laying open the ill Consequence that attends the Action, many Millions of Souls being concerned therein, and the Publick Safety endangered thereby; so the doing of it can be no Crime, or Offence, but a Duty, and Respect paid to the Legislative Power, every Man being concern'd in the Preservation of the Publick Peace, and at Liberty to Expose the Actions of those who violate the Established Laws of the Land, however Dignified, or Distinguish'd; For no body has Authority to make Void, or Infringe the Just Rights of the People, the Press being kept open to the intent Corruption should be detected.

Above all things (says my Lord Bacon, speaking of using means to prevent Seditions and Troubles) good Policy is to be used, that the Treasure and Moneys in a Nation be not gathered into few hands; for otherwise a State may have a great Stock and yet Starve. Therefore the Multiplying Nobility, and other degrees of Quality, in an over proportion to the Common People, doth speedily bring a State to Necessity. And, so when any of the Four Pillars of Government are mainly Shaken or Weakned (which are Religion, Justice, Council and Treasure) Men had need pray for fair Weather. In the mean time, they who know no more of the Nature and Constitution of this Government than what they see in the times they live, and are sensible of the great Justice observed in Holland, from thence Conclude, the Fraud, Rapine, and Violence practiced here in England, is no more than what the People must of Necessity undergo, so long as they live under Monarchical Government, when it's all Repugnant to the very Nature and Constitution of the English Monarchy. However, indeed, too much occasion has been given by some Men for the World to think so; for those who from time

time to time laid Publick Crimes and Offences before this Honourable House, have not been free from the Violence of Publick Ministers, even since Her Majesty's accession to the Throne, as notoriously appears in the Case of Mr. *Crossfeild*, who was taken up by the Principal Secretary of State's Warrant (at the Importunity it's said of Sir *Robert Cotton*, and Sir *Thomas Frankland*, who are Members of Parliament, and execute the Office of Post-Master General, as they have done many Years contrary to Act of Parliament, 12 Charles 2. Chap. 35. which says, *That One Master of the said Letter-Office shall be from time to time appointed,*) 29th of December, 1702. for *High Crimes and Misdemeanours*, and detained in Custody Six Weeks, and then discharged upon his acknowledging a Recognizance of Two hundred Pounds to appear at the *Queens-Bench Bar* the First Day of *Easter-Term*; in the mean time to be on the Good Behaviour, and obliged to Write no more: Nay, before he was Discharged, after he had made Application to the Speaker, and humbly prayed the Protection of the House, as he did likewise in the Book which he Published, and Dedicated to the House, and for which he was taken into Custody, a Warrant was Signed by the Secretary of State to Commit him to *Newgate* (for he cou'd not or wou'd not give Bail) where he had been infallibly sent, if *his Grace the Duke of Marlborough*, and some worthy Gentlemen had not Interposed, notwithstanding what he Writ appears to have been agreeable to the Sentiments of the House. Upon the same Account he was Three times taken into Custody in the late Reign (the Parliament being then Sitting) and once lay under Confinement in the *Poultrey Counter* Six Weeks (then it seems he cou'd not, or wou'd not give Bail, for the Person who Committed him, publickly declared, *He acted therein contrary to his Duty and Conscience*; but said, *be durst not do otherwise.*) but was

every

every time discharged without the Imputation of any Crime, or being Bound to the Good Behaviour; yet heinous Crimes was every time laid to his Charge when he was taken into Custody. How well these things agree with the Work of Reformation, and the Constitution of the Government, the World may easily judge. For,

If Publick Ministers won't hear Complaints, and do the Subject Justice, where shall an oppressed People or Nation Complain, or Appeal, (for all Publick Complaints are a National concern) if they cannot do it with safety to their own Representatives in Parliament, and be Protected, till it be seen whether their Allegations are true or false? Or, how can Men with security to themselves lay any thing before the Legislative Power, or the People be secure in their Property, so long as Members of Parliament are permitted to take Publick Employments upon them, and wink at the Ruin of those, who by the Constitution of this Government, they are obliged to protect.

Without all dispute, if our forefathers had in the least been apprehensive their Posterity would have degenerated to so high a degree as they have done in this Age, they would no doubt have made a severe Law against Members of Parliament taking Publick Employments upon them; to which Illegal practice it is, the Nation wholly owes its present Misery and Distraction (of which good Proof and Authorities shall be given) and from whence innumerable Evils dayly flow. To ennumerate them here would be endless, and beyond the design of this Discourse, which is brevity; but look or take things which way you will, they have a dreadful Aspect. *The best Things corrupted, always prove the worst; and bad Times produce good Laws; But till the Cause be taken away, the Effects will never cease.*

Since the Restoration of King *Charles the Second* (at which time this Evil Practice, and the open Selling of Offices and Employments first began, and can never be too often repeated) the Number of Officers in the Government, as Commissioners of the Customs, Excise, Navy, Victualling, &c. have Increased and Multiplied beyond measure, and Offices advanced in the Sale thereof, at least four Fifths in Value. The *Magestrates of London, &c.* (for the Corruption has been general) having had no fence of Honour, Justice, Shame, or Humanity, especially since the Revolution, whereby the Nation has been Intollerably Oppressed (the Selling of Offices, which has been the chief occasion thereof, and that which supports it, being an Illegal act, and a high violation of the Rights and Liberties of the People, * 12 *Richard 2. Chap. 2. 3 Henry 6. Chap. 10. 5 and 6 of Edward. 6. Chap. 16.* (which may be found at the end of the Book,) and by which the Crown reaps no advantage as in *France*, where all Employments are sold to the use and benefit of the *French King*) and only by means of this Corruption in the House of Commons, they being upon that account under no fear or apprehension of being Censured for their Actions, it having been the immediate Cause thereof ; or that which first gave being to these Corruptions in the State : No Treasurer of the Navy (who is usually a Member of the House of Commons) having perfected his Accounts, except the Earl of *Danby*, since the year 1667. (besides vast Sums of Publick Money which has not been Accounted for, since the Year 1663.) as appears by the proceedings of the House of Peers, who have laid a great obligation of Thanks upon the whole Nation in laying open this continued Corruption) or any Punishment inflicted for Male Administration this Fourty Years ; even those who by their evil Advice, &c. Ruined the late King *James*, and endeavoured to overthrow the Constitution of this

this Government, and introduce Popery, and Arbitrary Power, having not been thought worthy of Punishment; but few or none escaped Ruin, who endeavoured a *Publick National Good*. So that to this day they go boldly on in their oppressive Courses, which are a greater Evil and Burden by far to this Nation than the War it self, and much more dangerous, the People being eaten up, and devoured by the Multipli-city of Officers, (many Thousands of Families having been, as we may be, insensibly Ruin'd thereby.) For it would be found, one Half, if not one Third of the Commissioners of the Customs, Excise, Navy, Victualling, &c. would serve Her Majesty (whose Interest is inseparable from that of Her People) better and more effectually than the great Numbers now Employed (an instance of which we may see in the Treasury.) If the Fountain was but clear, and no Members of Parliament permitted to be in Places of Publick Trust; till then the Nation can expect no redress of Grievances: For who's able to withstand such a general Corruption? or what will the event of these things be, if they are not redressed by the *Legislative Power*, which like Justice is blind, and knows no Interest but the *Publick*? So by all good Men it's hoped it will be effected and done, for the *Reforming of the State, will Reform the Morals and Manners of the People*, (who always love to have their betters go before them) more in Three Months, than all the Societies for the Reformation of Manners in the Kingdom, back'd by a Hundred Proclamations, are able to do in Seven Years; such great Power and Force hath Sincerity and a good Example upon the Minds of Men.

• By this evil Practice, Nine parts in Ten, if not Nineteen in Twenty of the Gentlemen of *England* are oppresed as well as the Trading Subject, (tho' they do not so sensibly feel it as yet) and wholly made uncapable of serving their

Country in Parliament, unless they will expend vast Sums of Money (which no good Man will do, not knowing how to reimburse himself again,) and so consequently are deprived of their Birth-right, which they can never retrieve, (without throwing the Nation into Convulsions,) so long as Members of Parliament are permitted to take Publick Employments upon them: Therefore they do ill, who Charge the Gentlemen of *England* in general (as many do) to have been the Cause of all these Enormities, it being Manifest many Thousands of Gentlemen in *England* abhor the Actions that have been committed in the Government, and detest the very thoughts of being in any Publick Employments upon such *Dishonourable Terms* as they take them who are Members of Parliament: Yet some Men had rather see a Kingdom or State in Combustion, and Ruiny than suffer themselves to be removed from their Places. But to proceed,

And the World is fully convinced of Her Majesty's Goodness, and the tender Regard She has for the Good and Welfare of Her People, and of the Honourable and Just proceedings of this and the Two last Parliaments, (all of them having made some steps towards a Reformation) yet these together, the Nation sees, have not been able to break through the Corruptions in the Government, so as to bring things to a state of Justice; for notwithstanding many Persons in the late Reign, were proved to have supported Criminals, or otherwise to have Knowingly and Wilfully Impaired the several Branches in the Revenue, and the same fully known to the present Ministry; yet many of those Persons so proved to be Criminal still remain in Authority, and they who proved those Facts have had no Justice done them, but are look'd upon with an evil Eye by the Queen's Ministers, which is a plain Indication they approve of all past

Miscarriages, or at leastwise it's not in their power to rectifie them, which indeed, of tho Two, seems most probable: For no Minister of State can pretend to stand long, if he oppose the Interest, or does not Comply with the prevailing Party in the House of Comons, the Frowns of the People in all Ages having been able to overthrow the greatest Minister of State; if it were not so, the Constitution of this Government had long since been dissolved. Therefore if the majority of the House of Commons, (which is *the Grand Inquest of the Nation*) are in Publick Employments, or Receive Pensions from the Crown (which the Worl'd must believe, or that they live in expectation thereof, so long as the House admits the practice) no Man doubts but they are, by their great Power and Influence in; and upon the Government, at any time able to prevent any Persons being prosecuted, who are Guilty of Publick Frauds (as Mankind will naturally conclude they do, when there's an obstruction to Publick Justice, till it manifestly appears to the contrary, which can never be, till Members of Parliament relinquish Publick Employments, if Men may judge of things present, and to come, by what are passed) and so may, if they please, daub things over, by being instrumental in putting out of Employment some particular Persons with Contempt, a little to please the People, and the better to make room for themselves, as we see has been practiced and done ever since the Revolution, and long before down to this very time, and no Punishment ensued; and great *Arcana Imperia Detecta*, alias *Tom Double*, became at last a needless Inspector: Even all the Crime the Lord Ranelagh seems to have been Guilty of (when he was expelled the *House of Commons* for misapplying vast Sums of the *Publick Money*) was, only his being *Pay-master General to the Army*, his Lordship being now one of Her Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, as is likewise Sir —————

who was expelled the House of Commons for Corruption. Our Law indeed seems to be quite inervated, just as if it were troubled with the Dead Palsie, not being able to reach one sorry Fellow called *Whitacer*, who some time since absconded, and lay at *Wapping* by the Name of *White*, under which he went, as 'tis to be supposed, for *Holland*; to which he seems to have been sent. By these Things the World may see, Her Majesty's Goodness is not only abused (as his late Majesty's was) but the Noble Ends, and Generous Designs of this Honourable House (which eminently appears in the Address presented to the Queens most Excellent Majesty, concerning the many great and notorious Mis-carriages in the late Reign) are, in a Manner wholly frustrated, and the Constitution of the Government deeply wounded thereby; the Nation remaining still in the same bleeding Condition it was, before Her Majesty came to the Throne. No Regard being had to the Services of Men (such as have done the Crown Exemplary Service, according to the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, and Her Majesty's repeated Assurances to her People, or the least Consideration had to the Publick Debts, Taxes, &c. many chargable, and unnecessary Offices having been erected since the Death of his late Majesty, to the great Dishonour and Prejudice of her Majesty's Government; nay, if the Project carried on by some Members of Parliament, of Monopolizing *Tin* (which is to Commence the First of *December*) be suffered to take Place, in a little Time we must expect *Salt*, *Tobacco*, *Coles*, &c. will be monopolized; such is the miserable Consequences that attends Corruption: By which we may see it's not in Her Majesty's Power (alone) to help and relieve Her People, or in the Power of her Ministers, to stop some Men in their Course. " That is (says Sir *William Temple*) the Governors, who are few, will ever be forced to follow the Strength of the Governed, who are many, let them be either

“either People, or Armies, by which they Govern. Again,

All the Disputes, Heats, and Fewds, that are, or have been in the Nation since the Revolution (for from that Time we chiefly Date our Misery) have not at all been upon the Account of Religion (tho' indeed, that has all along been made use of, as a Pretence to amuse and deceive the People) but have been made, created, and begotten by those who endeavoured to be Members of Parliament, in hopes thereby to make themselves and Families great, by getting into Publick Employments, in which they knew they cou'd take the **Liberty** to act and do as they pleased without Controle: By which Means the House of **Commons** it self became the Seat of Faction, that is, the Place where all Faction's centred, under Denomination, or Appellation of the **Church Party**, and the *Dissenting Party* (to which **Tory**, and **Whig**, were Nick Names) one continually Striving to supplant the other, as they frequently did in the late Reign, taking it as it were by Turns, to try which could Sheer and Poll the People best, the Matter proves it self as to the Fraud, Falshood, and Fallacy thereof, so as not to be denied or confuted by any Man; for it's evident, the greatest Part by far, of all those Gentlemen who have been Members of Parliament, or endeavoured so to have been since the Revolution, indeed ever since the Restoration, are known to have been **Church of England** Men all their Time, and the **Dissenters** (who are for the most Part Traders, and not capable of hurting the **Church of England**, but through Default of its own Members, which the Legislative Power is able to prevent, and extinguish all Factions, without putting any Hardship upon the **Dissenters**) never able with all their Interest to make Thirty Members in any one Parliament. So the World may plainly see from whence our Misery and

and Animosities have proceeded, and in whose Power now it is (under GOD) to save the best Established Church, and Government in the World from Ruin, and make Posterity happy; " For our Nation is too great, and too brave to be ruined by any but it self, says Sir William Temple, in his Essay on popular Discontents ; and that " whatever the beginning of Factions are, the Consequence are the same, " and the Ends too of those who chiefly engaged in them ; " which is to act the same Part in different Masks, and to pursue private Passions, or Interests, under publick Pretences.

" From these Seeds grow popular Commotions, and at last, " Seditions, which so often end in some fatal Periods of the " best Govenments, &c. to prove which, we have had too late an Instance ; for " Nothing seemed less considerable, " than the Presbyterian Faction in *England* for many Years (says King *Charles* the First of blessed Memory, in his *Ezebelicon*, Page 165,) " so Compliant were they to publick Order. But as soon as Discontent drove Men into " Sidings (as ill Humours fall to the disaffected Part, which causes Inflammations) " so did all at first, who affected any Novelties adhere to that Side, as the most remarkable, and specious Note of Difference (then) in Point of Religion.

The Advice which King *Charles* the First gave to his Son the *Prince of Wales*. (afterwards King *Charles* the Second) was designed, or intended for a Publick and National Good : Therefore the Relating thereof, so far as may have Reference to the Matter in Hand, will, it's hoped, in some Measure Allay the unreasonable Fewds and Animosities in the Nation, which some Men so much labour to heighten and increase, and take off that Prejudice some Persons have to the Memory of that Excellent Prince. " For that, says he, speaking to

to the Prince in Reference to the great Trouble and Afflictions he had gone through : " They may be so far useful to " you, as to state your Judgment a right in what hath passed. And they may also give you some Directions how " to remove the present Distempers, and prevent (if GOD " will) the like for Time to come. My Council and Charge " to you is, that you seriously consider the former, real, or " objected Miscarriages which might occasion my Troubles, " that you may avoid them.

" Take such a Course as may either with Calmnes and " Charity, quite remove the seeming Differences, and Offences, by Impartiallity ; or so order Affairs in Point of " Power, that you shall not need to fear or flatter any " Faction.

" Next, beware of exasperating any Factions, by the Crossness and Asperity of some Mens Passions employed by " you, grounded only on the Differences in lesser Matters, " which are but the Skirts, and Suburbs of Religion, " wherein a charitable Connivance and Christian Tolleration " often dissipates their Strength, whom Rougher Opposition " Fortifies ; provided the Differences amount not to an insolent Opposition of Laws and Government, or Religion " established, as to the Essentials of them ; such Motions " and Minings are intollerable.

" Take heed that outward Circumstances and Formalities in Religion devour not all, or the best Encouragements of Learning, Industry, and Piety ; but with an equal Eye, and impartial Hand, distribute Favours and Rewards to all Men as you find them, for their real Goodness, both in Abilities and Fidelity, worthy and capable of them. This will be sure to gain you the Hearts

“ of the best, and most too ; who, tho’ they be not good
“ themselves, yet are glad to see the severer Ways of Ver-
“ tue, at any time, sweetened by Temporal Rewards.

“ Religion (says my Lord Bacon) being the chief Band of
“ humane Society, it is a happy Thing when it self is con-
“ tained within **THE TRUE BAND OF UNITY** : For as
“ it is noted by one of the Fathers, *Christ’s Coat had no Seam,*
“ *but the Churches Vesture was of divers Colours.* And it
“ was a notable Observation of a wise Father, and no less in-
“ geniously confessed, *That those which held and perswaded pres-*
“ *sure of Consciences, were commonly interested therein them-*
“ *selves, for their own Ends.*

Further, No Tongue or Pen can express the Calamity and Misery that has fallen upon Europe (of which England was the Ballance, and may so still, if not wanting to it self) by Means of this Evil Practice, that is, of Members of Parliament taking Publick Employments upon them, as may be seen by the Management of this and the late War ; for no People or Nation which has been strong at Sea since Adam, ever omitted making use of their Navel Power against their Enemis, as we have done.

Infinite are the Examples and Presidents which might be given of the Advantage those Nations have reaped thereby, who were strongest at Sea.

The Romans (a Noble and Generous People) long contended with the Carthaginians for the Sovereignty of the Seas, in the Prosecution of which, they suffered by Tempests, and the Power of Carthage, unspeakable Loss, which discouraged them to that Degree, that for a Time they gave up, or yielded the Sovereignty of the Seas to the Carthaginians,

nians, who reaped great Advantage thereby; for by Means thereof they made *Italy* the Seat, and Scene of War, and brought the State of *Rome* to the Brink of Ruin; of the Cause of which, the *Romans* becoming sensible, equipt a strong Fleet, and sent *Scipho* with an Army to invade *Af- frick*, when at the same Time they had a powerful Enemy in the Bowels of them, Ravaging and Spoiling their Country; the Success was answerable to the Wisdom and Prudence of the Undertaking; for *Scipho* obliged *Hanibal* the *Carthaginian* General to leave *Italy* to defend his own Country, and by that very Expedition, humbled the State of *Carthage*, and laid the Foundation of its Ruin.

The *Dutch*, in the Year 1674, with a Fleet, and but 4000 Land men on Board, allarmed the whole Coast of *France*, and obliged the *French* King to keep near 200000 Men in Arms to defend his Maratime Coast, which extends 500 Miles in length, yet we never made any Attempt upon the Enemies Coast all the Time of the late War (or this, worthy to be so called, for the Action at *Vigo* was purely accidental) only sent *brave Talmash* with some Thousands of Men to be knockt on the Head at *Camaret Bay*. And now it's manifest to the World, if we had this last Summer sent a Fleet with a good compotent Land Force on Board, to Invade, or Ravige the Coast of *France* (which in Conjunction with the *Dutch* we were capable effectually to have done, if the Matter had been before consurted at *W*— as it would have been if Her Majesties and the Nations Interest had been consulted) which would consequently have over-awed the Elector of *Bavaria*, and actually have prevented the *French* King sending such great Armies into *Germany*, *Italy*, and the *Netherlands*; and thereby have given the Allies an Opportunity of penitrating into the Enemies Country, and making *France* it self the Seat of War; which would unavoidably have

have filled *France* with Troubles in every Corner thereof, and in all probability have prevented the late dreadful Revolution at *Constantinople*: So that even by this time we might, or should have had the prospect of a Glorious, Durable, and Lasting Peace: Whereas by the Measures now taken, (which Hazards, Wafts, and Consumes the Shipping and Sailers of the Kingdom, more than if they should actually have attackt the Enemies Coast) the foundation of a Long and Tedious War is laid, and the Liberties of *Europe* expos'd to the greatest danger, only to serve the Covetous and Ambitious Ends and Designs of some Men, who abuse the Power they are invested withal, *and have Eyes and see not.*

It's well if the Sailers in the Squadron under the Command of *Sir Cloudsly Shovel* don't bring the Plague home with them, which it's much to be feared they will, if they continue a few Months longer in the *Mediterranian*, in which they can do the Enemy little hurt, but are themselves expos'd to many Dangers, not being Masters of one Port in all those Seas: If they were, we could not pretend to keep it, the Enemy being in those Parts strong at Sea as well as by Land, Neut'ral Princes and States afraid of us, and we in no condition to supply our Men with Provision, &c. in due time, as we was, could, and should have been by the vicinity of our Ports, if they had been employed in these Seas against the *French*, and thereby (as has been said, and proved before) have totally broke all the Measures of the *French* King, to the Immortal Honour of the *English* Nation. *If the French were saperior to us in strength at Sea, as we are to them; What a miserable Condition would this Nation soon be in!* But

Man's Nature prict forward with Covetousness, is quite Blind and without Reason. *Plut.*

To be Master of the Sea (says my Lord Bacon) is an Abridgment of a Monarchy, &c. But thus much is certain, That he that Commands the Sea, is at Liberty to take as much and as little of the War as he will: Whereas those that be strongest by Land, are nevertheless many times in great streights. Surely at this day with us of Europe, the vantage of being strongest at Sea, (which is one of the principal Dowries of this Kingdom of Great Brittain) is great; both because most of the Kingdoms of Europe are not meerly Inland, but girt with the Sea most part of their Compass; and because the Wealth of both Indies seems in great part but an accessary to the Command of the Seas.

“ Every one of the Confederate Powers are Interested to see this Work accomplished (says a late Author, speaking of the necessity of Reducing the exorbitant Power of France) and those of the Protestant Powers especially, and more particularly *England*, which seems to be the Bulwork of the Protestant Interest. We have for many Years, and at the expence of much Blood and Treasure, saught means to accomplish this great end: We have blunderd on in the common Road of Martial designs with unauspicious Clouds still hanging over our Heads, and all our Attempts have in a manner been abortive. But Providence has now shewed us the way, and has opened the *Cevennes* as a back Door into *France*; which if we do not enter, after Ages will say of us, That we laboured under a fatal blindness, and were hardned through Insecurity, or Treachery, to our own Destruction. But such Noble and Generous Designs (which the King of *Portugal*'s coming into the League won't obstruct, but further) we can never expect to see undertaken by the Crown of *England*, at leastwise to have any Success, so long as the Legislative Power permits, or allows Members of the House of Commons to be concern'd in the Ministerial part of the Government; for,

“The Disposition, as well as Granting Money by Act of Parliament, hath ever been in the House of Commons; 'tis a Right the Commons cannot depart from; but must for ever Assert, Support and Maintain. Therefore, The practice of Members of Parliament taking Publick Employments upon them is an Illegal act, and Destructive to the very Being and Nature of this Government, and the Liberties of Europe.

In answer to all which, it may be objected and said, The Law has already taken care and made provision in this Case, to prevent the ill consequence thereof, by an Act of Parliament Passed the 12th and 13th of King William the Third, Intituled, *An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown; and better Securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.* Which says, *That no Person who has an Office, or Place of profit under the King, or Receives a Pension from the Crown, shall be capable of Serving as a Member of the House of Commons.* And which indeed must be allowed to be a very good Act, only in this Case, (upon which the rest depend, and are, as it were, hinged thereupon; so if that fall, they all come to nothing) it's extreamly defective. Admit it were to take place at this very Juncture, (whereas it's *in futuro*, and not in force till the Queen's Death, as if Her Majesty's Life (upon which the Peace and Prosperity of the Three Kingdoms depend) were an obstacle or obstruction to the Happiness and Welfare of Her People:) For if the majority of the House of Commons should, for some Reasons of State, think fit to dispence with that part, or Clause of the Act, and permit Members of Parliament to continue in, or take Publick Employments upon them, as they have done hitherto, Who shall enforce the Act? By which, it's evident to the meanest capacity, nothing can secure the Rights and Liberties of the People (which are now precarious) and make Her Majesty and the Nation truly happy, but some previ-

ous

ous Act of the Legislative Power , to shut all Men out of the House of Commons that are not Priwy Councillers, who shall not first Publickly take an Oath before he's Return'd, *He's in no Publick Employment, and will take no Publick Employment upon him, or Receive any Pention from the Crown directly, or indirectly, during his being a Member of Parliament.* And with Submission, the foundation of such an Act ought speedily to be laid, tho' the Nation purchase it, (if it can't be obtained otherwise) by passing by, or pardoning some, yea, many and great Offences: For it will Preserve and Stablish the Peace of the Kingdom ; put the Nation in a condition to prosecute the War with Honour, Vigour, and Success ; and be a great step, and indeed the only means, towards a Lasting Union with Scotland, (which has continued a full Century, but now seems to draw near to a period) at leastwise prevent any danger on that side ; and then the great Feuds and Animosities in the Nation among persons of all degrees will cease, *The Apple of Discord* being taken away. The Corrupt and Drunken Practices used in chusing Members of Parliament will be at an end ; those who shall have Publick Moneys pass through their Hands, will, for the future, be careful to have Lawful Vouchers, to discharge themselves ; Publick Ministers will be at Liberty to speak their Minds with Freedom ; Trade will increase, and every Man enjoy the Fruits of his own Labour ; then Rewards and Punishment will take place, without which no regulated Government can long support it self, tho' Atheisme and Immorality will abide, and increase, till Judgments come and makes a sweep : And then also this Ancient and most August Assembly won't be troubled with Parties and Faction, having nothing in view but Her Majesty's Interest, and Service, and the good of their Country ; and those who shall have been the Instruments of bringing about, or accomplishing so good and great a work (for Her Majesty's Good-

Goodness and Condescension therein is not in the least to be doubted) will entail a Blessing upon their Offspring, and have their Names recorded to Posterity, as true Patriots of their Country, in having removed an Evil, which this Nation, and great part of Europe consequently hath been afflicted withal for the space of Fourty years, it having been in the Power of the Crown of England (humanly speaking) to have put a stop to the growing Greatness of the French King. For,

If the Representatives of the People had been but faithful to the Crown, in prosecuting the War in the late Reign, the French King had now been in no Condition or Capacity to disturb the Peace of Europe.

Fourty years long was I grieved with this Generation.

“ The King upholdeth his Throne by Mercy, that is, the
“ most true Mercy keepeth within it self, and Ministrith
“ unto others most of Justice.

“ Kings subfift by the Love of their People, and Mercy
“ sweetneth and maketh easie unto them that hard burden
“ of their Subjection: And therefore Mercy also is, not
“ without cause, well called, by one, The preserver of
“ Scepters.

“ The first safety of Princes and States (says Sir William
“ Temple, in his *Essay on Popular Discontents*) lies, in avoiding
“ all Councils and Designs of Innovation in Ancient and
“ established Forms, and Laws, especially those concerning
“ Liberty, Property, and Religion, (which are the Possessions
“ Men will ever have most at Heart) and thereby leaving
“ the Chanel of Known and Common Justice clear and
“ undisturb'd. “ The

“ The Second, In pursuing the True and Common Interest
“ of the Nation they Govern, &c.

“ A Third is, The Countenancing and Introducing, as
“ far as is possible, the Customs, and Habits, of Industry,
“ and Parcimony, in the Countries they Govern, for Frugal
“ and Industrious Men are usually Safe, and Friendly to the
“ Established Government ; as the Idle and Expensive, are
“ Dangerous, from their Humours or Necessity.

“ The last consists in preventing Dangers from Abroad, For
“ Foreign Dangers raise Fears at Home ; and Fears at Home
“ among the People raise Jealousies of the Prince, or State,
“ and give them ill opinions, either of their Abilities, or
“ their good Intentions.

“ THIS IS TRUE (says my Lord Bacon) that the
“ Wisdom of these latter times in Princes Affairs, is rather
“ fine Deliveries, and shifting of Dangers, and Mischiefs,
“ when they are near, than solid and grounded Courses to keep
“ them a-loof : But this is but to try Masteries with Fortune.
“ And Let Men beware how they neglect and suffer Matter of
“ Trouble to be prepared ; for no Man can forbid the Spark,
“ nor tell whence it may come.

“ All Kings and great Princes ought to take heed (says
“ an ancient Author) that they suffer not Factions to arise
“ in their Countries, for thereof kindleth the Fire that
“ consumeth the whole Country in the end.

*Silence is an abuse of the Tongue ; because God and Nature
have made this proper and peculiar unto it, To speak good Things,
and in due time.*

Choose that through Silence dissemble the Evil they foresee, Sin certainly grievously, because they do themselves no good; Yet, they grievously hurt themselves, and others also; themselves, whilst through Silence and Winking at Transgressions, they become partaker of other Mens sins; and others, whilst they do not by premonition, Provoke Prevention and Turning away of Evil.

The greatest Service Men can do, is to save their Country from Danger; and the only Love which Men do bare to their Country, doth exceed all other Piety.

The Constitution of the English Monarchy oppresses no Man, but is highly benign to Mankind, and lays a true Foundation of Virtue and Honour. And who can stand and see his Friend, or Country, bleed to death, and be afraid to speak, when its every Mans Duty to Vindicate the Municipal Laws of his Country.

12 Rich. 2. 2. Intituled, *None shall obtain Offices, by Suit, or for Reward, but upon Desert.* " Item, it is Recorded, That the " Chancellor, Treasurer, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Steward " of the Kings House, the Kings Chamberlain, the Clerk of " the Rolls, Justices of the Benches, Barons of the Exchequer, " and all others, called to Name and Ordain Justices of Peace, " Sheriffs, Escheators, Customers, Controllers, or any other " Officer, or Minister of the King, shall be firmly Sworn, " that they shall not Name or Ordain any Officers, or Ministers, " for any Gift or Brocage, Favour or Affection: And none " which pursaeth by him, or by other, privily, or openly, " to be in any such Office, shall be put in the same or any " other: But that they make all such Officers and Ministers " of the Best, and most Lawful and Sufficient Men, in their " Judgments and Knowledge.

2. Henry.

2 Henry 6. 10. Intituled, *What Manner of Inferior Officers shall be appointed in the Kings Courts.* " Item, To the intent that better and more sure Government be had within the Courts of our Lord the King, for his Profit, and Ease of his People, which have to pursue and to do in the same: It is Ordained and Stablished, That all the Officers made by the Kings Letters Patents Royal within the said Courts, which have Power and Authority by vertue of their Offices of old time accustomed, to appoint Clerks and Ministers within the same Courts, shall be Charged and Sworn to appoint such Clerks and Ministers for whom they will Answer at their Peril, which be Sufficient, Faithful, and attending to that which pertaineth to them in performance of the Business, as well of the King as of his People.

5 and 6 Edw. 6. 16. Intituled, *Against Buying and Selling of Offices.* " None shall Bargain or Sell any Office (says the Abridgment to this Statute) or Deputation, or any part thereof, or Receive or Take any Mony, Fee, Reward, or other Profit, directly or indirectly, or any Promise, Agreement, Bond, or Assurance, to Receive any such Profit for the same, which Office shall concern the Administration or Execution of Justice, or the Receipt, Controlement, or Payment of any of the Kings Money or Revenue, or any Account, Aulnage, Auditorship, or Surveying of any of the Kings Lands, or any of his Customs, or any Administration, or Attendance in any Custom-house, or the Keeping any of the Kings Towns, Castles, or Fortresses, (being Places of Strength and Defence) or any Clerkship in any Court of Record ; in pain that the Bargainee thereof shall lose his Place, and the Bargainor be adjudged disabled to Execute the same ; and every such Bargain, and Agreement shall be void. Provided this Act shall not extend to any Office of Inheritance, for the Keeping of a Park,

House, Manor, Gated, Chase, or Forest; nor
to the Two Chief Justices, or Justices of Assize, but that
they Grant Offices, as they did before the making of this
Act, as also all acts done by any Officer Removable by
force of this Statute, shall be good in Law, until he be
Removed.

FINIS.

